DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 202 663 RC 012 752

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TITLE Population Deconcentration in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas of the United States, 1950-1975. Population Series 70-15.

INSTITUTION Wisconsin Univ., Madison. Center for Demography and Ecology.; Wisconsin Univ., Madison, Univ. Extension. Dept. of Rural Sociology.

SPONS AGENCY Economics, Statistics, and Cooperatives Service (DOA), Washington, D.C.; National Inst. of Child Health and Human Development (NIH), Bethesda, Md. Center for Population Research.; Wisconsin Univ., Madison. Coll. of Agricultural and Life Sciences.
PUB DATE Apr 81
GRANT NICHHD-HD05876
NOTE 56p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Census Figures; Community Size; Demography; *Metropolitan Areas; *Migration Patterns; *Population Distribution; Population Trends; *Relocation; Rural Areas; Urban Population; Urban to Rural Migration; *Urban to Suburban Migration
IDENTIFIERS *Nonmetropolitan Areas; United States

ABSTRACT

Focusing on changes in differential growth in areas inside and outside places of 2,500 and highlighting recent patterns of concentration/deconcentration, this report documents trends in population redistribution within metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas of the United States between 1950 and 1975. In sum, the report shows apparent deconcentration at several territorial-based levels (as witnessed by population decline in the nation's largest cities), a continuing pattern of metropolitan suburbanization, more rapid growth of smaller than larger Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA), population redistribution away from the densely-settled industrial Northeast, a reversal in growth patterns between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, and deconcentration down the urban hierarchy within nonmetropolitan and metropolitan areas of the United States. The report concludes that each of these changes represents an important component of current redistribution trends in the United States. (Author)

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Rec. June 1981

ED202663

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RC 012752

Population Series 70-15

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April, 1981

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POPULATION DECONCENTRATION IN METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1950-1975

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research has been supported by the Economic Development Division, Economics and Statistics Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and by the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences, University of Wisconsin-Madison, through a cooperative agreement. Analysis was aided by a "Center for Population Research" grant, No. HD05876, to the Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison, from the Center for Population Research of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development. We also express our appreciation to Tim Heaton and Mary Jacobs for their assistance in assembling the data.

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SUMMARY

This report documents trends in population redistribution within metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas of the United States between 1950 and 1975. In particular, we focus on changes in differential growth in areas inside and outside places of 2500, highlighting recent patterns of concentration/deconcentration. Among our major findings are:

(1) Population distribution by size of place reveals since 1970 a decline in the proportion of the population living in places of 250,000 in size within metro areas, and a corresponding relative increase in all other metro urban categories and in metro population outside cities. In nonmetro areas, the proportion of the U.S. population living in cities over 25,000 in size has increased, as has the portion living outside nonmetro urban places.

(2) In contrast to the 1950s and 1960s when nonmetro areas accounted for only 10 percent of the absolute interdecade growth, they included nearly 40 percent of the total U.S. absolute growth during the 1970-75 period. Moreover, most of this growth was due to increases in the noncity population. Nearly 70 percent of the U.S. absolute growth was in areas outside places of 2500 or more in metro (42%) and nonmetro (28%) areas.

(3) This trend toward population deconcentration was most in evidence in larger metro counties, whereas smaller SMSAs (less than 250,000) experienced faster growth inside places of 2500 or more than outside such places since 1970. Nonmetropolitan urban places were growing at about 5 persons per 1000 per annum slower than the population outside these areas in the 1970s, reversing the pattern observed in the 1950s and 1960s.

(4) Throughout the 25-year period, the most rapid growth was found in the small city and outside-city segments in metro areas in every region

of the country. The shift from nonmetro concentration to deconcentration after 1970 was also pervasive across regions, except the Northeast which showed deconcentration even during the 1950s and 1960s.

(5) This changing pattern since 1970 was observed in nonmetro counties both adjacent and not adjacent to an SMSA, indicating that deconcentration is not due to spillover from metro areas. Also, the post-1970 shift to differential non-city growth in nonmetro areas was evident in all counties regardless of levels of local urbanization. Not only were completely rural counties among the fastest growing but, regardless of size of largest place in the county, the non-urban categories were growing faster than the urban place categories in the 1970s. This pattern tended to be evident in most regions of the United States.

(6) Patterns of nonmetro concentration/deconcentration within counties have also shifted over time. During the 1950s, nearly 90 percent of the U.S. nonmetro counties were concentrating, i.e., experiencing more rapid urban than rural growth. By 1970-75, about two-thirds of the counties were deconcentrating. And, even in those counties that were still concentrating in the 1970s, over half were doing so in conjunction with rural growth.

In sum, this report shows that deconcentration appears to be taking place at several territorial-based levels, as witnessed by population decline in the nation's largest cities, a continuing pattern of metropolitan suburbanization, more rapid growth of smaller than larger SMSAs, population redistribution away from the densely-settled industrial Northeast, a reversal in growth patterns between metro and nonmetro areas, and deconcentration down the urban hierarchy within nonmetro and metro areas of the U.S. Each represents an important component of current redistribution trends in the United States.

POPULATION DECONCENTRATION IN METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1950-1975

INTRODUCTION

For many decades, urban growth in the United States has been accompanied by the spread of population settlement. In his international study of the growth of cities in the nineteenth century, Weber (1899) noted this movement in the United States and other countries, and indeed viewed suburbanization as a basis of hope for the removal of the evils of city life. With the coming of the automobile, population deconcentration around large cities increased in relative importance, and later interpretations pointed to the problems of excessive sprawl, rapid growth in formerly rural areas, political coordination, and economic losses to the city.

The prevalence of this growth in the United States led to a modification in the organization of population statistics beginning in 1950. The designation of Standard Metropolitan Areas, and later Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs), served to complement the conventional rural-urban distinction, and replaced the geographically less extensive Metropolitan District used in the censuses of 1910 through 1940. These metropolitan areas consist of counties (or towns in New England) which contain major cities--usually over 50,000 in population size--and nearby counties that are socially and economically integrated with the central county of the SMSA. By means of this concept, one may generalize that at least throughout this century until 1970, the urbanization process in the United States can be succinctly described as one of population concentration into metropolitan areas, and deconcentration within these areas. "Metropolitanization" and "suburbanization" became catch-words in both

popular and academic accounts of these redistributional trends.

Related is the perspective that the metropolis has extended its influence, through population expansion and organizational dominance, into peripheral areas, including the nearby smaller cities and the surrounding rural countryside. The population growth in the nonmetropolitan sector lagged behind that observed in metropolitan areas, due both to outmigration to metropolitan areas, and selective metropolitanization (i.e., shifts of counties to metropolitan status). The latter occurred as small and middle-sized cities grew to become large cities, or development extended from established metropolitan areas into formerly nonmetropolitan surrounding territory. The report in 1972, of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, reflected a policy concern about excessive metropolitan population concentration and sprawl. The Commission supported the then popular notion of "growth centers" as a means to divert at least some population expansion. This policy assumed that growth should occur in and around urban settlements, so that one should encourage the growth of smaller urban places located away from large metropolitan areas.

The urgency to implement a national growth center strategy was quelled, however, with the unanticipated onset of the "nonmetropolitan turnaround." This transition in population distribution has a number of aspects, with the most prominent being that, since 1970, nonmetropolitan areas have grown more rapidly than metropolitan areas, reversing the major redistribution trend of this century. Moreover, the flow of migrants between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas has favored nonmetropolitan areas for the first time; that is, more people are now moving from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas than the reverse. It is also significant

that the upturn in nonmetropolitan growth is widespread, with the number of nonmetropolitan counties losing population declining from about 1,200 in the 1960s to 500 in the 1970s. Although much of the revived growth was found near metropolitan areas, suggesting metropolitan "spillover," this alone is insufficent to explain the overall trend in nonmetropolitan areas. Some of the most dramatic shifts in the post-1970 period have been in remote, more rural areas that have traditionally had the slowest growth rates or have previously been areas of chronic decline. At the same time, much of the slowed overall metropolitan growth involved absolute decline in many major central cities, particularly those in the industrial belt of the Northeast and Midwest.

The purpose of the research reported here is to extend knowledge concerning the nature of the new trend by comparing U.S. growth since 1950 inside and outside cities in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. Previous research has shown that incorporated cities were growing less rapidly than the remaining population in nonmetropolitan areas since 1970, reversing an earlier pattern (Beale and Fuguitt, 1979). Indeed, Long (1978) has documented an emerging pattern of differential growth in rural places outside the incorporated limits of nonmetropolitan places, with rural growth largely responsible for the higher rate of nonmetropolitan than metropolitan population growth. The post-1970 pattern of nonmetropolitan population deconcentration appears to be an extension of a similar process occurring in the 1960s in some regions of the United States (Fuguitt and Beale, 1976). This early trend demonstrates the need to go back to at least 1950 for comparative purposes.

We begin our analysis by considering the changing urban structure of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, distributing population by size

of urban place, and examining growth trends for different sized cities along with the population residing outside these cities. The growth in and out of cities is compared by region of the country, and for size and locational subcategories of both the metropolitan and the nonmetropolitan sectors. As will become apparent, a deconcentrated pattern of population settlement is now widespread throughout most nonmetropolitan areas, while continuing within metropolitan areas.

PROCEDURES

Data presented in this research are from nonmetropolitan and metropolitan counties in the conterminous United States, along with election districts for Alaska. (No place estimates are available for Hawaii for 1975, so this state was necessarily omitted from the universe.) County equivalent units are designated for SMSAs in the New England states where the delineations are normally on a township basis. With the exception of Table 6, a constant 1974 metropolitan distinction is used throughout our analysis. Population figures for 1950, 1960, and 1970 are provided in the published Census reports. County and place data for 1975 are population estimates prepared by the Bureau of the Census for revenue sharing purposes, and published in their Current Population Report Series P-25.

For the counties and groups of counties involved in this analysis, annualized population growth rates have been computed to make direct comparisons among the two ten-year and one five-year time intervals. The formula is:

$$\text{Rate of Population Growth} = \frac{P_2 - P_1}{K(1/2)(P_2 + P_1)}(1{,}000)$$

where P_1 and P_2 are the population of a unit at the beginning and the end

of the period, and K is the length of the time interval, either 10 or 5 1/4 (Shryock and Siegel, 1971:378-80).

Prior to 1950, comparing incorporated cities over 2,500 with the remainder was essentially the same as a rural-urban comparison using the definition then employed by the U.S. Census Bureau. At that time, however, it was recognized that the thickly-settled territory around metropolitan cities was urban in character, if not by governmental designation. Accordingly, the urban definition now includes this thickly settled area around cities of 50,000 or more, along with unincorporated places over 2,500. Our use of incorporated places of more than 2,500 constitutes about 80 percent of the official urban population within metropolitan areas in 1970. For nonmetropolitan areas, our results are closer to the rural-urban distinction of current Census practice, with places of more than 2,500 representing nearly 90 percent of the 1970 nonmetropolitan urban population.

In both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, the remaining population outside incorporated places of 2,500 includes the densely settled fringe around cities, residents of unincorporated places, villages of less than 2,500, and the "open country," consisting of population dispersed or in linear or other patterns not usually identified as village-like. All of these types of settlements are significantly represented in the "other population." In 1970, incorporated villages were about 18 percent of the nonmetropolitan population outside cities of 2,500, and if as much as an equal amount were found in unincorporated places this would be 36 percent of the total. Regrettably, the population residing in the fringe around nonmetropolitan cities, or the open country balance, is not easily estimated since the thickly-settled territory around cities with less than

50,000 people is not delimited in census reports. The important thing is to resist the temptation to refer to the remainder or "other" population simply as rural, with the open-country image this term invokes.

In calculating growth rates, places are classed by size at the beginning of each interval. Consequently, the "other" population may include places which are over 2,500 by the end of the period, and the urban place population may include places which have declined to under 2,500 by the end of the period. Overall, about 30 percent of the metropolitan growth outside cities is in territory that had become urban by the end of each time period through new incorporation or growth of villages to city status. The nonmetropolitan other population declined in 1950-60, and grew slightly in 1960-70, with 56 percent of this increase found in new places 2,500 and over by 1970. At the end of the 1970-75 period, however, when nonmetropolitan growth was considerably larger, only 12 percent of the other population increment was found in new urban places.

An additional complication is that much of the population growth of cities over time has been at their peripheries. If this growth is encompassed by political annexation during the interval, it represents city growth in our analysis. On the other hand, if the area of peripheral growth is not annexed, it represents growth in the "other" population outside places of 2,500. An earlier study showed that annexation is the most common way cities grow in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, outside the Northeastern United States (Klaff and Fuguitt, 1978). Data are not available to adjust for annexation for the 1970-75 period. But if one used the annexation tabulations available for the 1950-70 period so that growth outside cities included all territory annexed over a decade, there would still be ambiguity in interpreting the results. As Duncan (1959) pointed

out years ago, most growth must occur at the outer edges of places, so it is a question when this peripheral growth is extraordinary. The answer would appear to lie in the extent to which the growth outside places of 2,500 is not restricted to the thickly-settled areas around these places. By failing to adjust for annexation as is possible over 1950-70, at least a major part of this thickly settled growth is excluded from the other population. One must keep in mind regional differences in annexation practices, however, which undoubtedly explain a considerable part of the greater deconcentration pattern shown for the Northeast. As we shall see, the recent nonmetropolitan growth outside cities is not explained simply by city fringe development, since much is in counties which have no cities. Also, in many parts of the country, field studies have pointed to the dispersed nature of much of the new nonmetropolitan settlement. A recent Appalachian Regional Commission study (1980) found the most rapid 1970-77 growth in the region was in unincorporated places and enumeration districts (EDs) with initial density greater than 200 per square mile. The data reported showed that less dense EDs outside incorporated places of any size, however, grew twice as rapidly as the region as a whole and included 70 percent of the numerical growth over the interval.

The conceptual and technical ambiguities generated by peripheral growth and growth due to annexation are inherent to analyses of the type presented in this report. They are indeed difficult to resolve. Suffice it to say, the use of our tabulations as evidence of deconcentration, although lacking the rigor we would like, is nevertheless conventional and consistent with our understanding of recent trends in population redistribution, particularly those within nonmetropolitan areas. As we report below, the data and analytical tools at our disposal reveal striking changes in city/other

growth patterns over time that hardly appear to be artifactual or an extension of conventional urban growth patterns.

RESULTS

CHANGING DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE OF PLACE

We begin our study of deconcentration by looking at the changing distribution of population by size of place. Table 1 shows the number of incorporated places over 2,500 by size for census years 1950 through 1970 and for 1975 based on the revenue sharing data. The total number of these urban places increased by 44 percent over the 25 year period from 3854 to 5564. This increase is due to the addition of newly incorporated centers net of the small number of losses through disincorporation, consolidation, or failure to be reported separately for other reasons. Not surprisingly, this growth in numbers is greater (66 percent) in those counties designated as metropolitan as of 1974. Nonmetropolitan places increased by one quarter, from 1944 to 2402. The gain in number of places has been shared by every metropolitan and nonmetropolitan size category. The major factor in growth among larger size groupings is the shift of places from smaller to larger size groups, since most new places are initially small. In nonmetro areas, the largest relative growth in number of places is in the 25,000 plus category showing a shift of places up the size scale. In metro areas the same size group (25,000-50,000) increased the most, though in this case it is the middle size class, indicating that there is not as much relative movement into the size groupings above this.

The number of people (in thousands) living in the urban places, classed by size for each of the time periods considered, is shown in Table 2.

Table 1. Number of Urban Places by Size, 1950-1975[a]

Size and 1974 Metro Status	1950	1960	1970	1975
Metropolitan:				
250,000+	41	50	55	57
50,000-249,999	191	254	325	328
25,000-49,999	170	254	320	369
10,000-24,999	389	556	678	739
2,500-9,999	1119	1414	1573	1675
All 2,500+	1910	2533	2950	3168
Nonmetropolitan:				
25,000+	79	112	135	150
10,000-24,999	363	417	452	471
2,500-9,999	1502	1614	1717	1781
All 2,500+	1944	2143	2306	2402
All Places 2,500+	3854	4676	5256	5564

[a]The few places disincorporating or not reported at any time during the period are not included. Additions at each time are new incorporations plus places growing from less than 2,500 population.

Table 2. Population by Size of Place, 1950-1975

Size and 1974 Metro Status	Population (in 1000's) 1950	1960	1970	1975
Metropolitan:				
250,000+	34,833	39,067	41,932	40,933
50,000-249,999	18,409	23,889	29,909	30,587
25,000-49,999	6,222	8,991	11,150	12,984
10,000-24,999	6,070	8,627	10,692	11,767
2,500-9,999	5,732	7,328	8,142	8,715
All 2,500+	71,267	87,902	101,824	105,045
Outside places 2,500+	29,100	38,782	46,428	49,295
Total Metro	100,367	126,684	148,252	154,340
Nonmetropolitan:				
25,000+	2,489	3,737	4,598	5,213
10,000-24,999	5,447	6,370	6,889	7,213
2,500-9,999	7,227	7,854	8,319	8,595
All 2,500+	15,163	17,962	19,806	21,021
Outside places 2,500+	35,293	34,032	34,473	36,828
Total Nonmetro	50,456	51,994	54,279	57,849
Total U.S.	150,826	178,679	202,531	212,189

Also, the population not living in cities is included so that the total for each column is the entire U.S. population at that date. There is a consistent increase in population for each city size group in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas corresponding to the increase in number of places. Population outside cities has grown considerably over the 25-year period in metropolitan areas, from about 30 to 50 million. In nonmetropolitan areas the population outside of places declined between 1950 and 1960 but since then has increased from 34 to almost 37 million.

Further indications of the population structure across cities of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas may be obtained by calculating two measures of average city size (Table 3). The mean city size is obtained by dividing the total population living in cities by the number of cities, whereas the median is the population of the middle city among all cities arranged by size. Since there are many more small places than large ones, the average size of urban places is very small both in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. Of the two averages considered, mean city size is larger than median, reflecting the skewed size distribution of places. By definition, metro areas contain larger cities than do nonmetro areas; consequently the medians are somewhat higher and the means considerably higher in metro areas.

Another set of summary measures is provided by shifting perspective from the place to the individual. If one associates with each person the size of the city in which he/she lives, one may obtain the city size of the average person (Davis, 1972). The size of the place where the mean city dweller lives is the sum of the city sizes for each person divided by the total number of urban dwellers, and the median would be found by ranking the city size of all people and identifying the middle person and his/her

Table 3. Average City Size and Size of Place of Average City Dweller, 1950-1975

1974 Metro Status	Population of Urban Place 1950	1960	1970	1975
Metropolitan:				
Mean size of urban place	37,312	34,702	34,517	33,158
Median size of urban place	8,900	9,218	9,533	9,593
Where mean urban dweller lives	445,361	378,394	346,888	314,415
Where median urban dweller lives	241,303	209,111	189,944	174,612
Nonmetropolitan:				
Mean size of urban place	7,800	8,382	8,589	8,750
Median size of urban place	7,353	7,479	7,536	7,588
Where mean urban dweller lives	12,838	14,488	15,245	16,612
Where median urban dweller lives	10,976	12,654	13,449	13,983

associated city size. Table 3 gives approximations for these figures obtained using the grouped data from Tables 1 and 2. These numbers are larger (much larger for metro) than mean and median city sizes and as before, the median is rather smaller than the mean.

Trends in these four measures across the 25 year period generally show a pattern of deconcentration in metropolitan areas. All values declined over time except for median size of urban place. This latter increase reflects the increased concentration of urbanites in middle size (10,000 to 250,000) metro cities. The median size of urban place is below this, and shows increases whereas the urban dweller median is above most of these middle size places and so their increased importance leads to a decline. The declining means are no doubt reflective of the losses experienced by very large places, since their numerical values figure directly in the calculation of the means. We see that the mean urban dweller in metropolitan areas lived in a place of 445,000 in 1950, but one of 314,000 in 1975.

This deconcentrating pattern among metropolitan urban places is in contrast, however, to that for nonmetropolitan areas, where all four averages increased regularly through the 25-year period. The mean nonmetro urban dweller lived in a place of about 13,000 in 1950 but a place of 17,000 in 1975. Although there has been a recent increase in the number and proportion of nonmetro people living outside urban places, Table 3 shows that there has also been an increase in the average size of cities there.

Another perspective on redistribution is obtained by calculating the percentage distribution of population across size groups of both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas (Table 4). The Total Metro and Total Nonmetro rows reveal the increasing metropolitan proportion through 1970, with a slight shift favoring nonmetro areas between 1970 and 1975, in the

Table 4. Distribution of Population by Size of Place, 1950-1975

Size and 1974 Metro Status	Percent of Total Population 1950	1960	1970	1975
Metropolitan:				
250,000+	23.1	21.9	20.7	19.3
50,000-249,999	12.1	13.4	14.8	14.4
25,000-49,999	4.1	5.0	5.5	6.1
10,000-24,999	4.0	4.8	5.3	5.6
2,500-9,999	3.8	4.1	4.0	4.1
All 2,500+	47.2	49.2	50.3	49.5
Outside Places 2,500+	19.3	21.7	22.9	23.2
Total Metro	66.5	70.9	73.2	72.7
Nonmetropolitan:				
25,000+	1.7	2.1	2.3	2.5
10,000-24,999	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.4
2,500-9,999	4.8	4.4	4.1	4.0
All 2,500+	10.1	10.1	9.8	9.7
Outside Places 2,500+	23.4	19.0	17.0	17.4
Total Nonmetro	33.5	29.1	26.8	27.3
Total U.S.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

now familiar population turnaround configuration. There has been a decline in the proportion of persons in the nation living in places over 250,000 in size. Since these cities have almost one-half of the metropolitan urban population, it is this shift that is behind the declining average figures of the preceding table. There is a corresponding relative increase in population in all of the other metropolitan urban categories, and in the metropolitan population outside cities.

On the nonmetropolitan side, there is an increase in the proportion living in larger places over 25,000 in size, and a relative decline in the total U.S. population living in smaller nonmetro cities. (These smaller cities gained in importance between 1950 and 1970 relative to the total nonmetropolitan population, however.) The nonmetropolitan portion outside cities declined from 23.4 to 17.0 between 1950 and 1970, but shifted up to 17.4 by 1975. The importance of this noncity growth to the nonmetropolitan turnaround is seen by the fact that the shift from 17.0 to 17.4 is almost equal in magnitude to the total nonmetro shift from 26.8 to 27.3, the very slight relative gain in the total U.S. population living in larger nonmetro cities being partially offset by a corresponding decline for the smallest city group.

GROWTH OF CITIES AND POPULATION OUTSIDE CITIES

The previous section dealt with changes in urban population structure across four specific data collection times, here considered as the number of places and population by size class, including a class for the population outside cities. Now, we consider a different but related issue, that of the growth of cities and areas outside cities over each time interval, 1950-60, 1960-70, 1970-75. Previously, we looked at the distribution of

cities classed by population size at each date. Now, we wish to examine population changes for the same cities grouped by initial size. In a sense this is "controlling" for shifts of places across size classes. As previously noted, however, this means that the population in places which became urban by the end of the period through growth from rural place status or new incorporation remain a part of the "other" population growth. On the other hand, the population in territory annexed by existing cities during the period must be included in the "other" category at the beginning, but the city category at the end of the period.

The absolute growth of cities classed by initial size is shown in Table 5. Overall, absolute growth has declined greatly during this time, primarily due to the drop in fertility. There is population increase in all the categories across each time period, with the exception of very large metropolitan cities in 1970-75, which together had a population loss totaling 1.5 million. The major difference in growth patterns, however, is revealed by comparing the percent distribution of absolute growth for the three periods. In the 1950s almost 95 percent of the absolute growth was in counties that were metropolitan as of 1974, whereas by the 1970-75 period only 63 percent of the growth was there. The percent of absolute U.S. growth that is in metropolitan areas outside cities declined steadily, but there was a greater decline for the metropolitan urban areas due almost entirely to the large losses of the major metropolitan cities. All nonmetropolitan categories increased in their proportion of total absolute growth but clearly the most striking increase was for the outside city sector, which jumped from an absolute loss of 2.2 percent (of the national population increase) in the 1950s to a gain of almost 28 percent in the early 1970s. Fully three-quarters of the absolute nonmetropolitan growth between

Table 5. Absolute Growth by Initial Size of Place, 1950-1975

Initial Size of Place and 1974 Metro Status	Absolute Growth (in 1000's)			Percent Distribution of Absolute Growth		
	1950-60	1960-70	1970-75	1950-60	1960-70	1970-75
Metropolitan:						
250,000+	1543	897	-1550	5.5	3.8	-16.0
50,000-249,999	2940	3049	861	10.6	12.8	8.9
25,000-49,999	1797	2042	590	6.4	8.6	6.1
10,000-24,999	2830	2444	1015	10.2	10.2	10.5
2,500-9,999	3137	2610	1144	11.3	10.9	11.8
All 2,500+	12247	11044	2061	44.0	46.3	21.3
Outside Places 2,500+	14070	10524	4027	50.5	44.1	41.7
Total Metro	26317	21568	6088	94.5	90.4	63.0
Nonmetropolitan:						
25,000+	254	175	197	0.9	0.7	2.0
10,000-24,999	852	479	304	3.1	2.0	3.2
2,500-9,999	1032	637	409	3.7	2.7	4.2
All 2,500+	2138	1291	909	7.7	5.4	9.4
Outside Places 2,500+	-600	995	2660	-2.2	4.2	27.6
Total Nonmetro	1538	2286	3570	5.5	9.6	37.0
Total U.S.	27852	23853	9658	100.0	100.0	100.0

1970 and 1975 was in areas initially outside cities. Combining the metro and nonmetro categories for outside places of 2,500 and over shows that almost 70 percent of the absolute 1970-75 growth was outside places designated as cities at the beginning of the period, whereas this was true of only 48 percent of the 1950-60 and the 1960-70 absolute growth.

The amount of absolute growth over time of a category is partly a function of its size. For example, one would expect metropolitan areas to gain more people than nonmetropolitan areas, other things being equal, since the U.S. is about 70 percent metropolitan. The next step then is to take population size into account through the computation of annualized growth rates (see page 4).

Using a 1974 metro definition (comparing columns two, four and five of Table 6), we see a uniform decline in annualized growth rates for the total U.S. from 16.9 per thousand in the 1950s to 12.5 per thousand in the 1960s to 8.9 per thousand in the 1970s. Among the metropolitan categories there is a similar decline across the three time intervals. For nonmetropolitan, however, there is a decline for the urban categories in comparing the 1950s with the 1960s but the 1970s show an increase in these growth rates, though not to the level of the 1950s. For the nonmetropolitan category outside cities there is a marked shift from decline to slight growth to rapid growth so that these growth rates for nonmetro areas are more than one and one-half times larger than any of the nonmetro urban rates or the rate for the U.S. as a whole.

Among both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan urban places, rates are largest for small places for each time period. This appears to be inconsistent with the increased scale of nonmetropolitan places found in Table 3. One should remember, however, that these rates are calculated for places

Table 6. Annualized Population Growth Rates by Initial Size of Place, 1950-1975

Initial Size of Place and Metro Status	Annualized Rate of Population Change per 1000				
	1950-60		1960-70		1970-75
	1950 Metro	1974 Metro	1963 Metro	1974 Metro	1974 Metro
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Metropolitan:					
250,000+	4.3	4.3	2.3	2.3	-7.2
50,000-249,999	14.8	14.8	12.0	12.0	5.4
25,000-49,999	22.4	25.2	20.2	20.4	9.8
10,000-24,999	39.0	37.8	25.7	24.8	17.3
2,500-9,999	47.5	43.0	32.1	30.2	25.0
All 2,500+	14.3	15.8	11.4	11.8	3.8
Outside Places 2,500+	44.2	38.9	24.0	23.9	15.8
Total Metro	22.4	23.2	15.1	15.7	7.7
Nonmetropolitan:					
25,000+	20.1	9.7	10.7	4.6	8.0
10,000-24,999	19.7	14.5	8.7	7.2	8.2
2,500-9,999	17.2	13.3	9.5	7.8	9.1
All 2,500+	18.7	13.2	9.6	6.9	8.6
Outside Places 2,500+	4.0	-1.7	6.3	2.9	14.1
Total Nonmetro	9.1	3.0	7.5	4.3	12.1
Total U.S.	16.9	16.9	12.5	12.5	8.9

classed by initial size at each decade. The growth of smaller places will increase the average size of place, although, given their smaller initial size, not by as much as a comparable rate of increase for a larger place. A rapid growth of smaller places may also shift them into larger size categories, which would increase the median since it lies within the smallest size class for nonmetro areas.

It is also instructive to compare the rates in the nonmetropolitan urban size-of-place categories with the corresponding categories in metropolitan areas. We observe that, even in the 1970s, smaller metropolitan places under 50,000 were growing more rapidly than the corresponding sized places within the nonmetropolitan sector. This is particularly evident within the smaller urban size categories. For example, in the 1970s places of 2,500-9,999 in metro areas were growing nearly 3 times more rapidly than the same sized places in nonmetropolitan counties. This growth rate differential, however, is still less than it had been in the 1960s when metro places of this size were growing nearly 4 times faster than nonmetro urban places less than 10,000 in population.

Another issue is considered with the data in Table 6. This is the effect of using a constant rather than a current metropolitan classification. So far we have utilized the more recent 1974 metropolitan classification for the entire 25-year period. This, however, means that counties nonmetropolitan in earlier times that have grown rapidly typically are excluded as nonmetropolitan, having achieved metropolitan status in the interim. Columns one, three and five compare growth rates using a current metropolitan classification, that is, the way counties were classed according to information at the beginning of each time period. Findings are almost identical for the metro sector in comparing the current and constant classifica-

tions. For nonmetropolitan areas, the 1950 classification yielded a quite rapid 1950-60 growth for places over 25,000, whereas the 1974 classification showed a growth only half as great for the same period. The difference, of course, is because many of the more rapidly growing nonmetro places over 25,000 in the 1950s achieved a size of 50,000 or more subsequently so that their counties were reclassified as metropolitan before 1974. The size-of-place-by-growth pattern for nonmetropolitan cities is seen to have shifted over the 25-year period using the current rather than constant definition. Thus, in the 1950s, nonmetro places over 25,000 were growing more rapidly than smaller ones on the whole, and this also was true in the 60s (columns one and three). By the 1970s, however, the reverse was true, although throughout the differentials among these size groups have been rather small. Using a current definition we also see the nonmetro population outside places of 2,500 grew rather than declined in the 50s and grew more in the 60s than was true using the 1974 metro definition. This, of course, reflects the fact that territories outside cities in counties which ultimately became metropolitan were growing rather rapidly to offset the decline or slow growth of the counties continuing to be nonmetropolitan through 1974.

For the remainder of this report, the 1974 metropolitan definition will be used exclusively. There are interpretive advantages in dealing with the same geographic areas over time, and we see that there is little difference in the two approaches for the metropolitan growth patterns. The reader should keep in mind, however, that with the constant 1974 metropolitan-nonmetropolitan delineation, the nonmetro urban rates show less decline, and the outside city rates a steeper gain to the 1970-75 levels than with a comparison using the current (1950, 1963, 1974) definitions across the

three time periods.

To further understand these growth trends, we need to subdivide the population groupings. First for the metropolitan sector, Table 7 gives annualized growth rates in and out of places that are urban, by size of SMSA in 1970. The deconcentration pattern characteristic of metropolitan areas is seen to be primarily a property of metropolitan areas having one million or more people in 1970. This is where the greatest difference exists between city and other population change. Little or no deconcentration to the noncity sector has taken place in metropolitan areas having fewer than 500,000 people. Total growth rates by size of SMSA shows an interesting shift. In the 1950s, consistent with the massive population concentration in metropolitan at the expense of nonmetropolitan areas, the pattern was for larger SMSAs to be growing more rapidly than the smallest ones. The first column of the table shows, however, that by 1970-75 this had reversed, so that the group of smallest SMSAs were growing at a 14.5 per thousand rate in contrast to 4.2 per thousand for SMSAs of one million or more. In the 1950s the size-of-SMSA by growth relationship was due to the greater growth outside urban centers in larger SMSAs since the city population was at that time growing more rapidly in smaller than in larger metro areas. By 1970-75, the city populations were declining absolutely in the largest metro areas and continued to grow more rapidly in the smaller ones. The growth outside metropolitan areas, however, had become almost the same among the four SMSA groups, growing less than 18 percent in the larger metro areas and 13.3 in the smaller ones.

For comparison, the total nonmetropolitan category is contrasted with the total metropolitan in the last two panels of this table. Generally, we see the declining growth of metropolitan over time contrasted with the

Table 7. Annualized Population Growth Rates in and not in Places of 2,500 or More Persons by Size of SMSA, 1950-1975

Size of SMSA in 1970 (1974 SMSA Designation)	Total (1)	In (2)	Out (3)	Difference (2)-(3)
1 Million or more				
1950-60	23.6	13.4	53.5	-40.1
1960-70	16.0	10.6	31.0	-20.4
1970-75	4.2	-8.2	17.6	-25.8
500,000-999,999				
1950-60	22.4	15.4	34.3	-18.9
1960-70	15.5	15.4	15.7	-0.3
1970-75	10.3	7.5	15.5	-8.0
250,000-499,999				
1950-60	23.6	22.8	24.6	-1.8
1960-70	15.8	12.4	20.4	-8.0
1970-75	12.7	12.2	13.4	-1.2
Less than 250,000				
1950-60	21.7	23.3	19.5	3.8
1960-70	14.1	12.9	15.9	-3.0
1970-75	14.5	15.3	13.3	2.0
Total Metropolitan				
1950-60	23.2	15.8	38.9	-23.1
1960-70	15.7	11.8	23.9	-12.1
1970-75	7.7	3.8	15.8	-12.0
Total Nonmetropolitan				
1950-60	3.0	13.2	-1.7	14.9
1960-70	4.3	6.9	2.9	4.0
1970-75	12.1	8.6	14.1	-5.5

increasing growth of nonmetropolitan in the turnaround pattern. In the metropolitan, however, the decline is consistent both in and out of urban places, whereas in nonmetro areas, urban places are growing less rapidly in the 1970s than in the 1950s, but the rural population consistently increased over time to a level almost identical to that of the rural metropolitan category. By the 1970s, nonmetropolitan areas overall were growing at a rate more than one and one-half times that of metropolitan areas. Nonmetropolitan urban places were growing more than twice as fast as metropolitan places in the aggregate, but the population outside cities was growing slightly less rapidly than that in metropolitan areas.

Comparing the four different SMSA size groups, however, we see that this differential growth pattern is found only for the two larger-sized groups of SMSAs having more than 500,000 population. The two smaller-sized SMSA groups were overall growing more rapidly, their cities were growing faster, but the population outside cities was growing somewhat more slowly than in the nonmetropolitan sector. In sum, recent population deconcentration has seen shifts favoring both smaller SMSAs and nonmetropolitan areas. Within nonmetropolitan areas, however, this growth has been considerably more rapid outside cities, whereas growth in and out of cities has been at almost the same rates within smaller SMSAs.

TRENDS FOR REGIONS AND SUBREGIONS

Metropolitan and nonmetropolitan growth rates are summarized for the U.S. and the four Census regions in Figure 1. The top panel shows clearly that throughout the 25-year period the most rapid growth in the nation is found in the small city and outside-city metropolitan segments. This is true also for each region except the Northeast, which since 1960 had a more

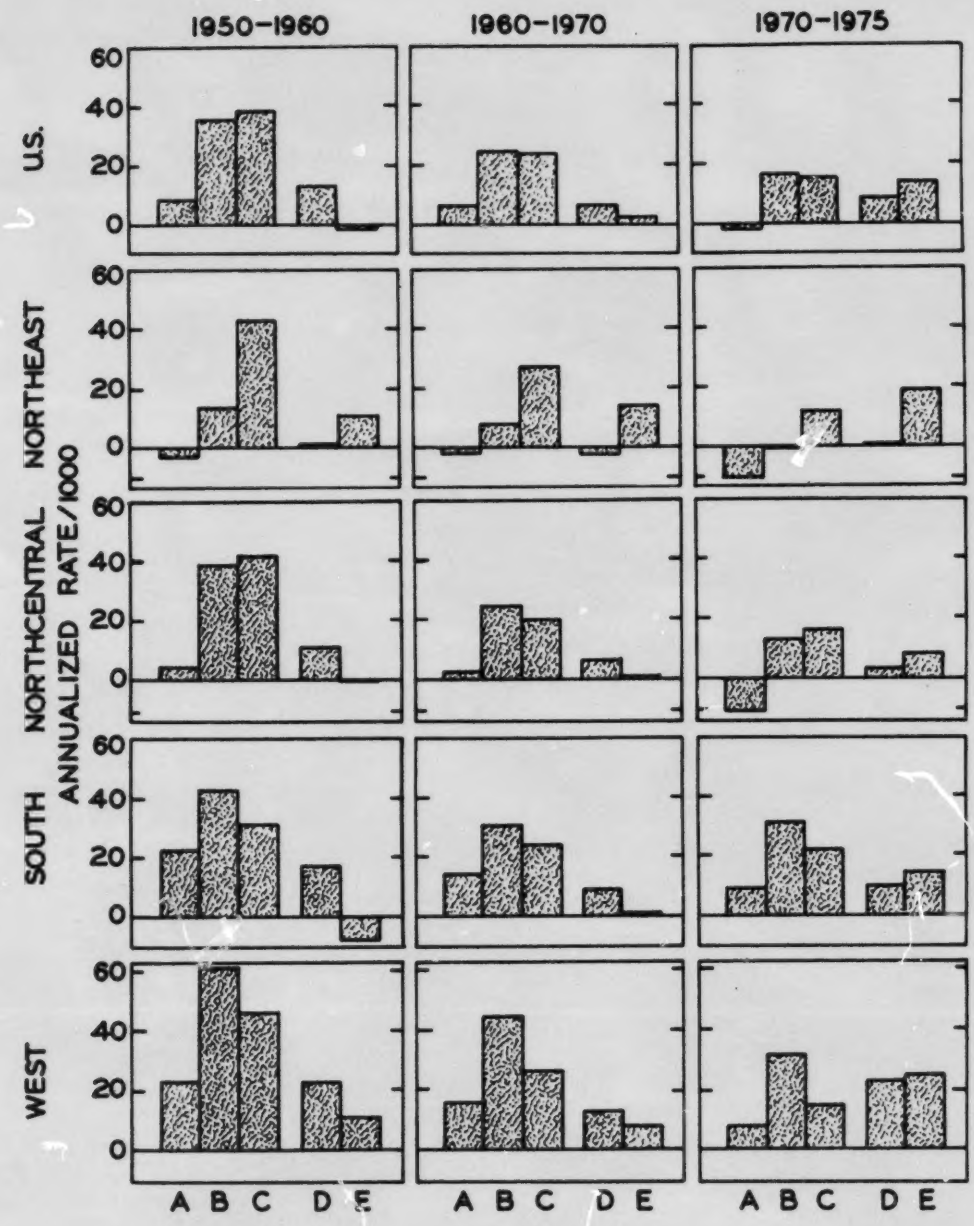


Figure 1. Annualized Population Change for Places and Other Territory in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas, 1950-60, 1960-70, and 1970-75

rapidly growing nonmetro outside-city category, and the West in 1970-75 where the metropolitan outside-city is below both nonmetro segments. Across time, the graphs show that the overall decline in growth is associated with a decrease in variation among categories within every region.

The remarkable shift from nonmetropolitan concentration to deconcentration after 1970 is uniform across regions, except that the highly metropolitan Northeast already showed nonmetro deconcentration in the 1960s and 1950s. The South showed the most marked nonmetro shift outside-cities from substantial loss in the 1950s to a gain more rapid than urban in the 1970s. This region was still losing a large number of Blacks and other rural people during the decade of the 1950s.

The next issue to be addressed is where this nonmetropolitan deconcentration pattern is occurring within each broad region. The first specific question is whether or not this deconcentration is found only near metropolitan areas. If this is the case, then the deconcentration may be simply an extension of metropolitan deconcentration and might reflect a tardiness in reclassifying nonmetro counties to metropolitan status. Nonmetropolitan counties are distinguished in Figure 2 by whether they are physically adjacent to counties that were metropolitan as of 1974. With the exception of one difference, the pattern is the same as in Figure 1 regardless of location with respect to metropolitan centers. The exception is the West where there is a concentrating pattern, but in counties <u>adjacent</u> to metropolitan centers in the 1970-75 period. We must conclude that deconcentration is not just due to spillover from metropolitan areas and thus we need to look at the nonadjacent counties more closely.

Is deconcentration in nonadjacent counties explained by the development of what might be called "incipient SMSAs?" That is, is it peripheral

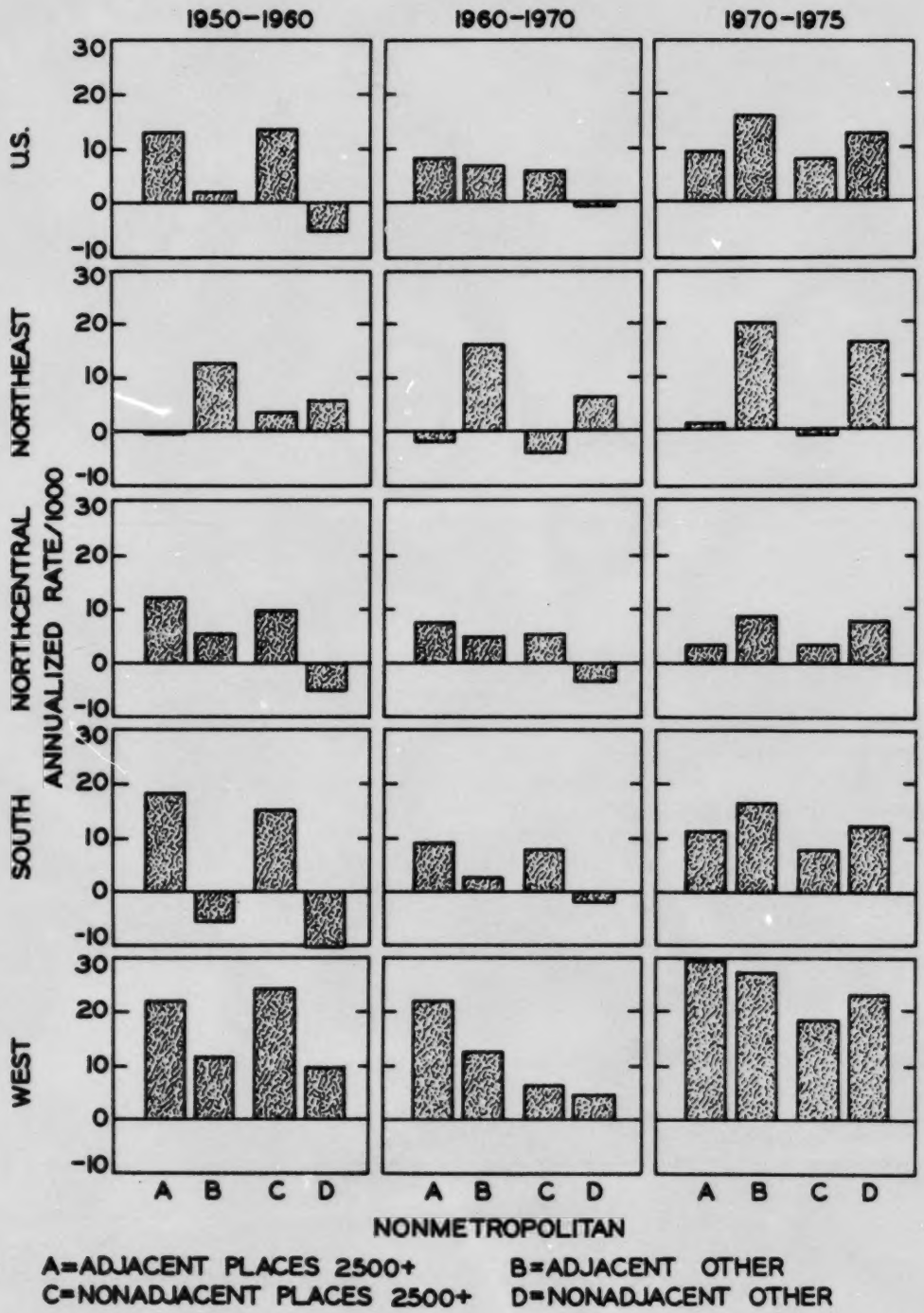
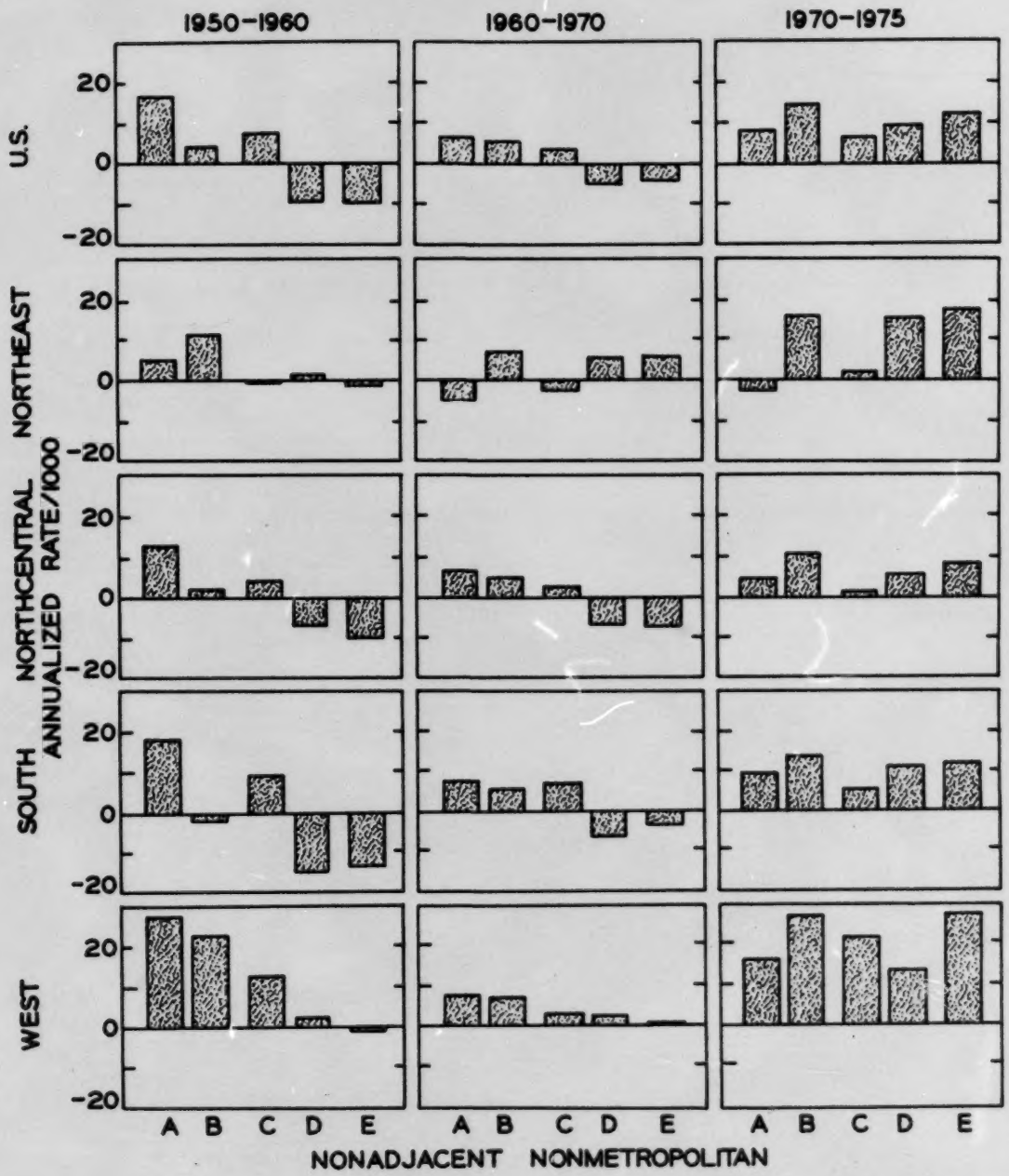


Figure 2. Annualized Population Change for Places and Other Territory in Adjacent and Nonadjacent Nonmetropolitan Centers, 1950-60, 1960-70, and 1970-75

growth around the larger cities in nonadjacent counties and so essentially a continuation of the previous pattern of metropolitanization? This may be examined by dividing counties according to the size of largest place in the county at the beginning of each time period. For each portion of Figure 3 the first two bars are the city and other subunits for those counties which have a city of 10,000 and over. These counties would become metropolitan when and if such a city reaches the 50,000 size. The next two bars are for the city and other segments of counties with smaller cities of 2,500 up to 10,000 and the last bar is for completely rural counties.

For the U.S. as a whole in the 1950s and 1960s, the concentrating pattern is found. Urban places are growing most rapidly in counties having places of 10,000 or more. In fact, they are growing twice as rapidly as in other counties. In addition, even in the 1950s, there was growth in the outside-city sector in these counties, presumably the beginnings of a deconcentrating pattern there. The outside-city parts of counties with smaller cities, and completely rural counties, on the other hand, had population declines of 10 per 1,000 per year over the 1950s. The pattern for the 1960s is quite similar though all of the bars are smaller. In counties with larger places, the noncity growth is almost equal to the growth of the cities at that time. By the 1970s, however, there is deconcentration both around larger places and also around places 2,500 to 10,000 with outside-city rates higher than urban. At the same time, the completely rural counties are growing more rapidly than either city or other sectors of counties 2,500 to 10,000. These counties, moreover, are growing more rapidly than the combined city and noncity sectors for the counties with larger cities, so that in a complete reversal of the 1950s pattern, counties that are completely rural are growing more rapidly (12.9 per thousand) than counties with



A=SLP 10,000+, PLACES 2500+
B=SLP 10,000+, OTHER
C=SLP 2,500-10,000, PLACES 2,500+
D=SLP 2,500-10,000, OTHER
E=SLP LESS THAN 2,500

Figure 3. Annualized Population Change for Places and Other Territory in Nonadjacent Nonmetropolitan Centers by Size of Largest Place (SLP) in County, 1950-60, 1960-70, and 1970-75

smaller (8.7) or larger cities (11.6). The rapid growth in the completely rural counties has been discussed elsewhere but is known to be associated with recreation, retirement and geographic amenities found in many parts of the country. On the other hand, the most rapid growth sector in that period is for the areas outside cities in counties with cities over 10,000 (15.0) so deconcentration around cities is an important part of the nonmetropolitan deconcentration pattern.

The importance of this trend is even more evident in terms of absolute growth. The absolute population of nonmetropolitan nonadjacent counties grew a little more than 1.5 million over the 1970-75 period, which was about 16 percent of the national total growth. (This sector had about 13 percent of the national population in 1970.) Of this 1.5 million increase, one-half was in counties with cities over 10,000, thirty percent in counties with smaller cities, and the remaining twenty percent in completely rural counties. The absolute importance of growth in and around larger cities is considerably less in 1970-75 than in the 1950-60 period, however, when nonadjacent counties that did not have cities of more than 10,000 population declined overall.

Again, regional patterns tend to follow those for the nation as a whole. Major population declines in the more rural areas are found in the North Central states and the South in the 1950s and 1960s whereas the West was then already showing rapid noncity growth in those nonadjacent counties having larger nonmetro cities. Although the Northeast has had (with the North Central) the slowest overall growth, by the 1960s and 1970s the Northeast outside-city segments were all growing more rapidly than in the North Central or Southern regions. In the Northeast, cities either are declining overall or growing very slightly in the nonmetro sector. Recall that in

1. Northern New England - St. Lawrence
2. Northeastern Metropolitan Belt
3. Mohawk Valley and New York - Pennsylvania Border
4. Northern Appalachian Coal Fields
5. Lower Great Lakes Industrial
6. Upper Great Lakes
7. Dairy Belt
8. Central Corn Belt
9. Southern Corn Belt
10. Southern Interior Uplands
11. Southern Appalachian Coal Fields
12. Blue Ridge, Great Smokies, and Great Valley
13. Southern Piedmont
14. Coastal Plain Tobacco and Peanut Belt
15. Old Coastal Plain Cotton Belt
16. Mississippi Delta
17. Gulf of Mexico and South Atlantic Coast
18. Florida Peninsula
19. East Texas and Adjoining Coastal Plain
20. Ozark - Ouachita Uplands
21. Rio Grande
22. Southern Great Plains
23. Northern Great Plains
24. Rocky Mountains, Mormon Valleys, and Columbia Basin
25. North Pacific Coast (including Alaska)
26. The Southwest (including Hawaii)

Figure 4. Subregions for the Analysis of U.S. Nonmetropolitan Population Change

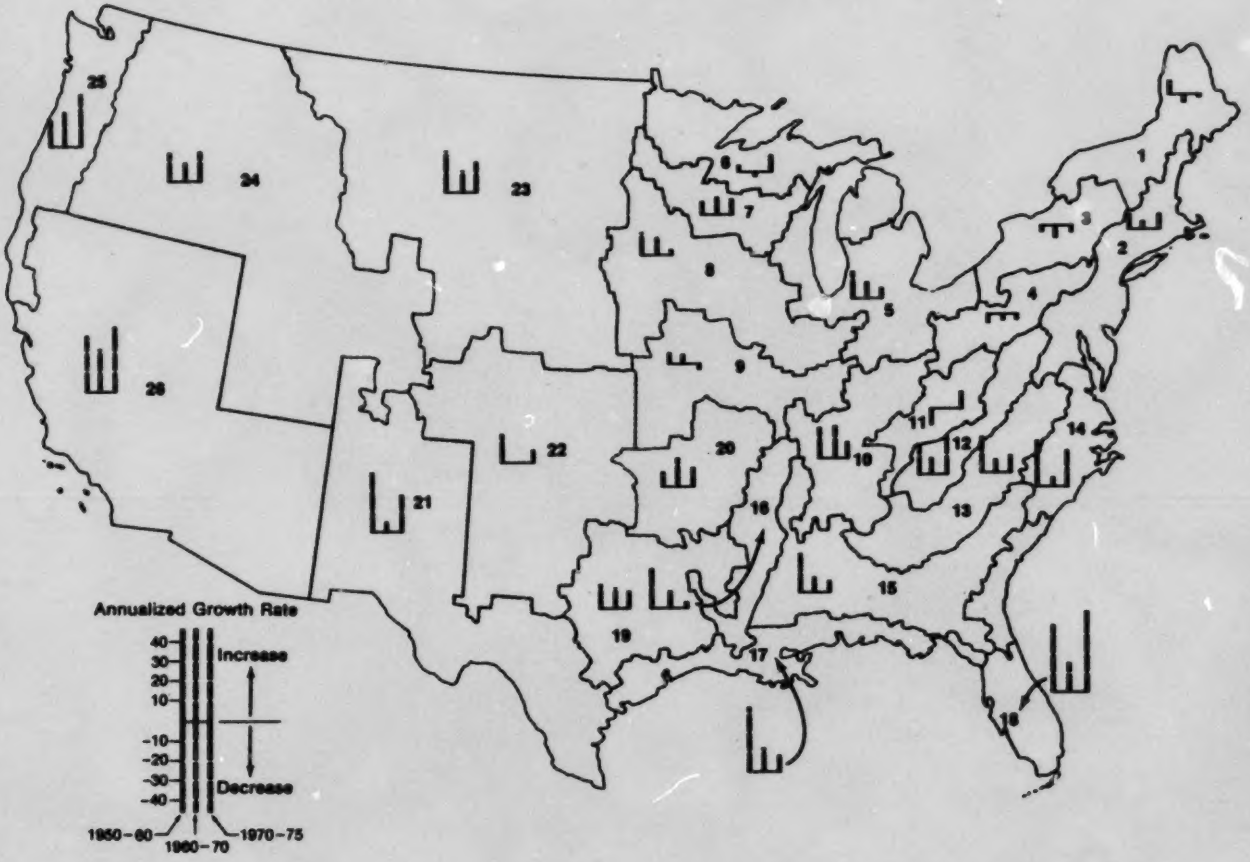


Figure 5. Annualized Population Change for Nonmetropolitan Incorporated Places of 2500 or more, 26 Subregions of the U.S., 1950-60, 1960-70, and 1970-75

this region annexation of territory by cities is virtually impossible. By the 1970s the deconcentration pattern within counties having a place over 10,000 is consistent throughout the regions, and for nonadjacent counties with smaller cities it is also consistent except in the West where small cities are still growing more rapidly than their noncity areas. Completely rural counties are among the most rapidly growing nonadjacent segments in all regions in 1970-75, showing the pervasiveness of this new remote rural growth.

Because the four Census regions are large and heterogeneous, in the final elaboration of the nonmetropolitan population we compare 26 subregions of the United States. This delineation, prepared by Calvin Beale, groups together State Economic Areas of reasonably similar social and economic characteristics and is not dependent on state boundaries. (For a more detailed discussion see Fuguitt and Beale, 1978.) Figure 4 shows the subregions superimposed over state boundaries and gives the names which have been attached to the regions for easy reference.

Figure 5 gives the annualized rates of growth for the urban place population. The three vertical bars are (from left to right) for 1950-60, 1960-70, and 1970-75. We see that almost everywhere places were growing faster in the 1950s. Exceptions are subregions in the far West (24-26), the Upper Great Lakes (6), Appalachia (11) and peninsular Florida (18) regions where the most rapid growth is in the 1970s, and in the Dairy Belt and the Ozarks (7 & 20) where the most rapid growth is in the 1960s. Generally, the slowest place growth is in the 1960s with a resurgence during the 1970s. (Recall, however, that this pattern is at least partly attributable to using a constant metropolitan definition.)

The growth outside cities, shown in Figure 6, is greatest in the 1970s

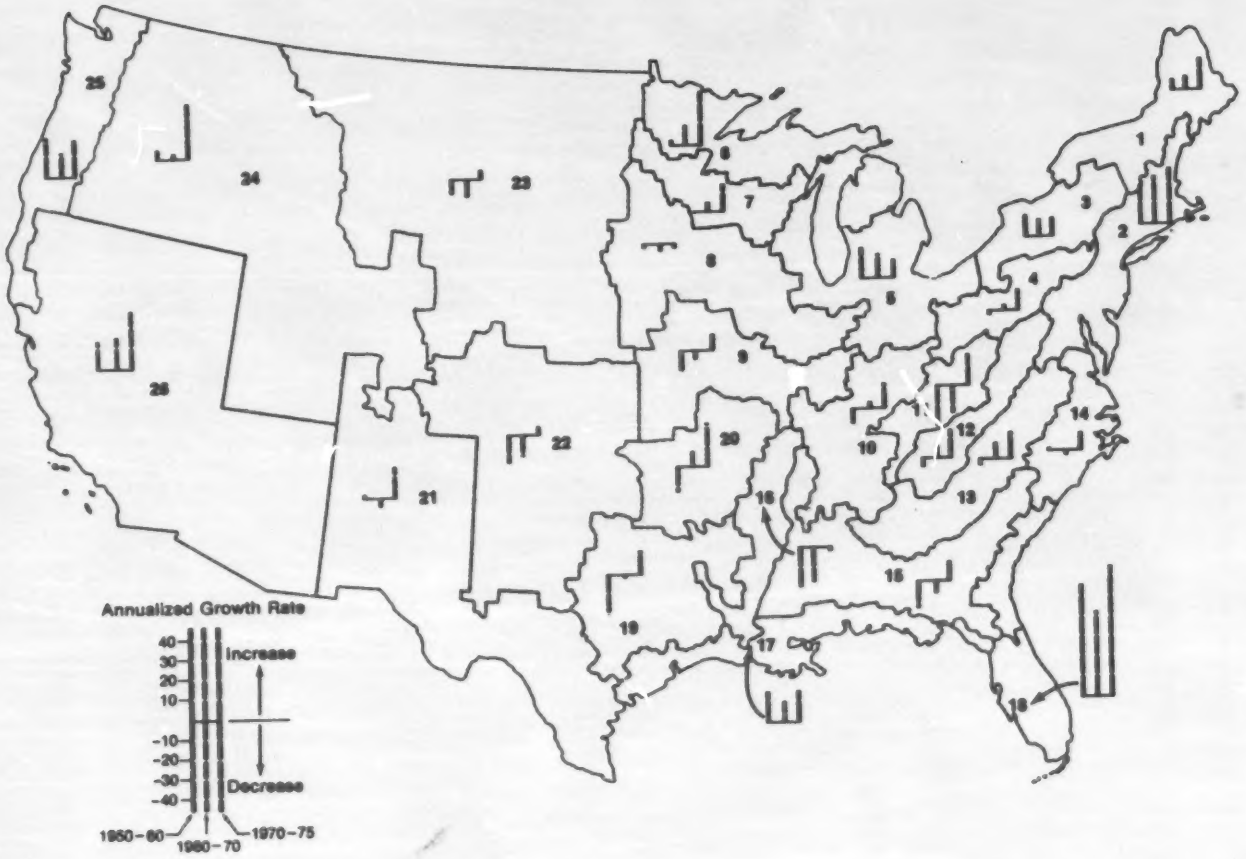


Figure 6. Annualized Population Change for Other Nonmetropolitan Territory (not in places of 2500 or more), 26 Subregions of the U.S., 1950-60, 1960-70, and 1970-75

almost everywhere in the U.S. Exceptions are the Mohawk Valley and the Lower Great Lakes (3 & 5). Note also that only in the Central Cornbelt (8) and the Delta (16) was the open country population declining in the 1970s. Yet in the 1950s, 14 of the 26 subregions posted noncity declines. These were mostly in traditional agricultural areas in the center of the United States and parts of the South.

The difference between the urban place growth and the growth outside cities is a measure of concentration or deconcentration. Such differences are shown by time period from left to right for each subregion in Figure 7. Most subregions show a declining concentration or increasing deconcentration pattern over time with the bars representing successively smaller numbers. There is absolute deconcentration, that is, the outside-city rate of growth is greater than the city rate so that the bar is below the line (negative) in 17 subregions by 1970-75. This is not yet true in nine subregions that are in traditional farming areas, including the Tobacco Belt (subregion 14), the Delta (11), the Central Cornbelt (8), the Great Plains (22 & 23), and the Rio Grande (21) along with two other western subregions (25 & 26). Thus, the deconcentration pattern for the Census West region as a whole, shown in the bar graphs (Figures 1, 2, and 3), is repeated here only for the Rocky Mountains and Columbia Basin subregion (24).

PATTERNS OF NONMETRO CONCENTRATION/DECONCENTRATION

Although population deconcentration is now a pervasive phenomenon within nonmetropolitan counties, the patterns of growth in and outside cities may take on a variety of forms. Counties may concentrate by experiencing (1) faster city than noncity growth, (2) city growth with decline outside

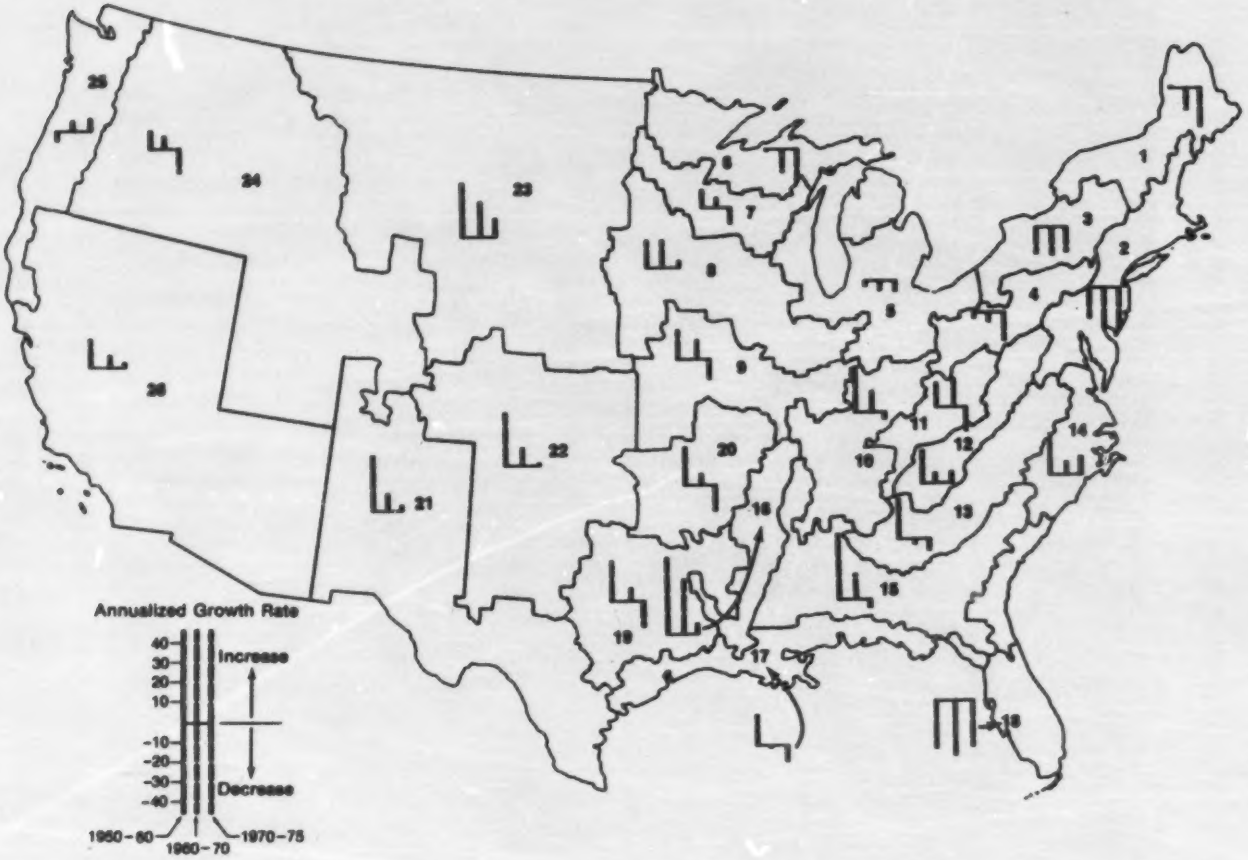


Figure 7. Annualized Place Population Change Minus Annualized Population Change in Other Territory, 26 Subregions of the U.S., 1950-60, 1960-70, and 1970-75

cities, or (3) slower city decline than noncity decline. Conversely, deconcentrating counties undergo either (1) faster growth outside than inside cities, (2) noncity growth and city decline, or (3) slower decline outside cities than in cities. As will become apparent, the distributions of these various combinations of growth have exhibited some rather substantial changes over the twenty-five year period from 1950 to 1975.

Table 8 gives the percentage distributions of nonmetropolitan counties by type of population concentration/deconcentration. By necessity this part of the analysis is limited to nonmetropolitan counties with at least one urban place at the beginning of each period. City growth rates are based on a constant number of places during the period being examined and noncity growth rates on the basis of changes in the residual population, i.e., the difference between the county and the urban population as was true for Tables 2 and 5 through 7. Because deconcentration has always been considered more characteristic around large cities, the tabulation is shown here separately by whether or not the county has a place of 10,000 population or more at the beginning of each period.

The data reveal that patterns of intra-county population growth during the 1950s had shifted by the 1970s. During the 1950-60 period, 36 percent of the counties with urban places in excess of 10,000 population experienced a deconcentration pattern. As expected, this percentage was even smaller in less urbanized counties where only 15 percent had differential rural growth. Obviously, the 1950s can be characterized as one of population concentration within counties, even in the majority of cases where larger cities are present. By 1970-75, however, this pattern had reversed with about two-thirds of the counties experiencing a deconcentrating pattern regardless of the level of local urbanization.

Table 8. Percentage Distributions[a] of Nonmetropolitan U.S. Counties by Type of Population Concentration/Deconcentration, 1950-75

	Total			Largest Place 10,000+			Other Counties		
	1950-60	1960-70	1970-75	1950-60	1960-70	1970-75	1950-60	1960-70	1970-75
Concentrating counties:									
Urban growth GT rural growth	19	18	17	24	20	16	16	17	18
Urban growth, rural decline	47	32	13	32	21	12	53	37	13
Urban decline LT rural decline	13	15	6	8	8	4	16	17	7
Subtotal	*79*	*64*	*35*	*64*	*49*	*31*	*85*	*72*	*38*
Deconcentrating counties:									
Rural growth GT urban growth	13	15	32	24	23	39	8	12	29
Rural growth, urban decline	5	14	27	9	23	27	4	10	27
Rural decline LT urban decline	3	6	6	3	5	3	3	6	7
Subtotal	*21*	*36*	*65*	*36*	*51*	*69*	*15*	*28*	*62*
Total	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*	*100*
No. of counties	1426	1512	1579	400	478	527	1026	1034	1052

[a]Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

The data also indicate that the modal pattern of city and noncity growth/decline has undergone a rather remarkable transformation during this twenty-five year period. During the 1950-60 interval of rapid population concentration, the dominant pattern was one in which county urban places were growing and areas outside cities declining in population. This was the case for over one-half of the less urbanized counties and was also the modal group (32 percent) in the counties having larger cities. Regardless of the level of local urbanization, however, only slightly more than 10 percent of the counties experienced urban place growth along with outside-city decline in the 1970-75 period.

It is instructive to examine further the changing configurations in which counties either concentrate or deconcentrate. In the post-1970 period, the modal pattern of population concentration for both county groups was one in which urban areas were growing faster than the balance of the population. The important point to be made here is that even when counties were concentrating in the 1970s, more than half were doing so in conjunction with noncity growth. This is a significant change from the 1950s and 1960s when well over one-half of the concentrating counties were registering population decline outside cities.

The modal pattern of deconcentration was one of greater growth outside then inside cities in all three periods regardless of level of local urbanization. Nevertheless, some interesting changes are evident. For example, in the 1950s only thirty-six of the more urbanized counties experienced noncity growth and city decline. By 1970-75, this number had grown to 142 and represented about four of every 10 counties experiencing deconcentration. This change is even more dramatic in counties with less populated urban places. The number of these counties with urban place decline and other

growth increased from 41 in the 1950s to 284 by 1970-75. Indeed, regardless of level of county urbanization, the 1970s have ushered in a period when, for the first time, more counties were experiencing growth outside but decline inside cities than were experiencing city growth with decline elsewhere. Obviously, patterns of differential city and noncity growth and decline have undergone a significant change in many parts of nonmetropolitan America.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The most important conclusion drawn from the data presented here is that the 1970s have ushered in a widespread pattern of population deconcentration within the United States. This deconcentration process appears to be taking place at several territorial-based levels, as witnessed by population decline in the nations' largest cities, a continuing pattern of metropolitan suburbanization, more rapid growth of smaller than larger SMSAs, population redistribution away from the densely-settled industrial Northeast, and a reversal in growth patterns between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. Each represents a significant aspect of current redistribution trends in the United States.

Vining and Strauss (1977) have recently suggested that population deconcentration takes place in the following sequence of stages: (1) deconcentration within more urbanized areas; (2) deconcentration from more urbanized to less urbanized areas; and (3) deconcentration within less urbanized areas. Research focusing on the first two stages has generally been carried out under the rubric of "suburbanization" and the "metro-nonmetro population turnaround." A major task addressed by the present research was to provide a more systematic examination of deconcentration within less urban-

ized or nonmetropolitan areas of the United States, in comparison with that taking place in metropolitan areas. Although previous research on nonmetropolitan deconcentration has shown that aggregate growth rates in completely rural areas have undergone a largely unanticipated turnaround, our understanding of differential rural and urban growth within nonmetropolitan areas has been less than complete. Regrettably, most previous examinations of deconcentration from areas of high relative population concentration to areas of lesser density have had a decidedly metropolitan emphasis.

Data represented in this report show a continuing peripheral growth within metropolitan areas. Though levels have declined since 1950, metropolitan growth outside cities is still more rapid as a rule than the growth of any other population group considered here. Over this same time, there has been a dramatic change from concentration to deconcentration within nonmetropolitan areas of the United States. Moreover, the recent pattern of differential growth outside cities appears to be pervasive, affecting most areas of the country, and occurring irrespective of proximity to a metropolitan area or local urbanization. Obviously, such growth can have a significant impact on remote rural areas which have historically been on the decline. This nonmetropolitan population change represents yet another aspect of the pervasiveness of population deconcentration taking place in this country over the last decade or so. Indeed, it has been suggested that our traditional notions of suburbanization now need to be broadened to include nonmetropolitan areas (Long, 1978).

While differential rural growth may signal a halt to the longstanding pattern of centralization in many chronically depressed rural areas, intracounty population growth differentials remain an issue of continuing policy concern. For example, the trend toward deconcentration may exacerbate

problems of efficient energy usage within nonmetropolitan areas, particularly if a dispersed settlement pattern means that nonmetropolitan residents are now traveling longer distances to their jobs and/or to purchase daily goods and services (See Keyes, 1980, for discussion). At the same time, it should be noted that there is little evidence to suggest that nonmetropolitan residents commute longer distances to work than metropolitan residents (Bowles and Beale, 1980). Another policy concern is that differential rural growth in nonmetropolitan areas may contribute to a more rapid conversion of prime agricultural land for residential purposes. Evidence on the effect of rural growth on agriculture is mixed, however, and points up the need to relate land use and population changes more explicitly in future research (Brown and Beale, 1980; Kasarda, 1980).

To the extent that the new nonmetropolitan deconcentration is due to the outmovement of relatively high income residents, nonmetropolitan urban areas may face increasing fiscal pressures as their tax bases deteriorate at a time when they are subjected to the growing demands of residents in surrounding rural areas who make use of various community services. In the past, such concerns have usually been limited to discussions of the impact of suburbanization in metropolitan areas, but have now taken on added importance in many nonmetropolitan regions of the United States.

The present research does not indicate that we are becoming a rural society once again; quite to the contrary. The improvements in transportation and communication systems have simply diminished the salience of notions of agglomeration economies, and have allowed population and economic activity to be more geographically dispersed than was previously possible. Moreover, the movement of ex-urbanites to the rural areas of the U.S. has also served to infuse more urban values and attitudes into the indigenous rural popula-

tion. What this means for the future of nonmetropolitan areas is difficult to determine at this point, although recent concerns have focused on problems of overloads on community services, and value conflicts between newcomers and long-time residents (Price and Clay, 1980). Yet one should not assume that newcomers differ from old-timers in attitudes toward growth or the desire for more urban type services (Kasarda, 1980; Voss, 1980). Suffice it to say that the vertical integration of more remote rural areas within the national urban system has surely increased as the constraints of distance have deteriorated, and as many of these areas have experienced a halt to long-standing population declines.

In sum, the post-1970s have not only been marked by continuing growth around large cities (many of which are now losing population) and the broad movement concentrating population into nonmetropolitan areas, but a widespread pattern of deconcentration has been observed within nonmetropolitan areas themselves. We need to continue to monitor the extent of deconcentration within both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, as well as assess the impact of these trends on rural areas and the surrounding urban and metropolitan centers. This is particularly important in an era when issues of land use policy, efficient energy utilization, and the coordination of governmental units have taken on new urgency throughout the nation.

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